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Message Text

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INFO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IIMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 188213 TOSEC 080254

EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR, GEORGETOWN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO THE GON

1. DEPT APPROVES OF JOINT APPROACH ON RHODESIA WITH
BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER OR HIGH RANKING
FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
UK AMBASSADOR SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN ARRANGING APPOINTMENT
AND IN MAKING PRESENTATION.

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2. PRIMARY PURPOSE OF MEETING WILL BE TO SUMMARIZE TO
DUTCH CURRENT ANGLO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS (SEE
BELOW) FOR RHODESIA. WE HAVE DETERMINED WITH THE
BRITISH NOT RPT NOT TO HAND OVER THE DOCUMENT ITSELF TO
THE DUTCH. THE ABSOLUTE CONFIDENTIALITY OF OUR PRESENTA-
TION SHOULD BE STRESSED TO THE GON.

3. BRITISH AMBASSADOR WILL NOTE THAT OTHER EC-9 MEMBERS
WILL BE APPROACHED NEXT WEEK, BUT THAT WE WANT THE
DUTCH TO BE INFORMED OF OUR GENERAL THINKING BECAUSE

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SOME OF THE ACTIONS WE ARE CONTEMPLATING RELATE TO THE SUPPLY OF OIL TO RHODESIA, AND THAT, GIVEN THE LARGE ROLE THE DUTCH PLAY IN THE OIL CONTEXT, THEY SHOULD BE INFORMED OF OUR GENERAL THINKING IN ADVANCE.

5. IN DISCUSSING THE PROPOSAL IT SHOULD BE EXPLAINED THAT THE GENERAL ANGLO-AMERICAN STRATEGY IS TWO-FOLD: TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO PUT PRESSURE ON SMITH REGIME TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS AND TO PERSUADE THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE NATIONALISTS PARTICULARLY THE NKOMO-MUGABE PATRIOTIC FRONT, TO DO LIKEWISE.

5. YOU SHOULD ALSO EXPLAIN OUR PROPOSED TIMETABLE. IN HIS MEETINGS LAST WEEK WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE, PRE-SIDENT CARTER INITIATED THE CURRENT EFFORT. SECRE-TARY OWEN AND SECRETARY VANCE WILL MEET WITH SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA ON 12 AUGUST IN LONDON. OWEN AND VANCE WILL SUBSEQUENTLY MEET WITH NYERERE IN LONDON ON THE 13TH. THESE MEETINGS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY A TRIP TO SOUTHERN AFRICA BY OWEN AND A HIGH LEVEL AMERICAN OFFICIAL, PROBABLY AMBASSADOR YOUNG. NYERERE HAS AGREED TO CONVOKE A MEETING OF THE FRONT LINE CONFIDENTIAL

PRESIDENTS ON OR ABOUT AUGUST 19 AT WHICH WE WILL PRESENT THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. THIS WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SMITH REGIME AND WITH 'HE NIGERIANS IN LAGOS. WE WOULD ALSO PROBABLY MEET AGAIN WITH BOTHA, AND PRESUMABLY PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, ON THIS SAME TRIP TO ASSESS THEIR REACTION TO THE PROPOSALS AND TO OUR REQUEST FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE IN PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE RHODESIANS. ONCE THESE MEETINGS HAVE TAKEN PLACE THE PROPOSALS WOULD BE PUBLISHED AS A BRITISH WHITE PAPER AND FORMALLY CONVEYED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

6. AMBASSADORS SHOULD STRESS THAT IT WOULD GREATLY STRENGTHEN OUR HAND IN TALKING TO BOTHA IF FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND SECRETARY VANCE COULD SPEAK IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT OUR ALLIES ARE WILLING TO GIVE THESE PROPOSALS THEIR SUPPORT. WE WOULD HOPE THAT THEY WOULD AGREE TO INSTRUCT THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN PRETORIA TO INFORM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN THIS SENSE SOMETIME EARLY IN THE WEEK OF AUGUST 14, THAT IS AFTER RPT AFTER THE LONDON MEETING WITH BOTHA BUT BEFORE THE SUBSEQUENT PROPOSED SOUTH AFRICAN MEETING AROUND AUGUST 20. IT WOULD ALSO BE IMMENSELY HELPFUL IF THEY COULD INDICATE A WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROPOSED ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICANS REGARD AS A KEY INDUCEMENT TO

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THE EUROPEANS.

7. YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT OUR PROPOSALS LNVISAGE REFERENCES TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNDER A VARIETY OF CONTINGENCIES. IF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED AGREE TO OUR PROPOSALS, THEN WE WILL PROCEED TO IMPLEMENT THEM IN PART THROUGH THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IF ONE OR THE OTHER FAILS TO CONCUR, THEN OUR PLANS CALL FOR INFORMING THE COUNCIL OF WHAT WE HAD INTENDED DOING;
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WE WOULD NOT ASK FOR ANY ACTION ON THOSE PROPOSALS. IN THE EVENT THAT IT IS SOUTH AFRICA WHICH FAILS TO BRING RHODESIA TO COOPERATE WITH OUR PROPOSALS, THEN WE ENVISION TAKING STEPS TO EXPAND CURRENT SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA WHICH WOULD DIRECTLY IMPINGE ON SOUTH AFRICA. ANY RESOLUTIONS WOULD BE RELATED TO EXISTING CHAPTER 7 DETERMINATION ON RHODESIA. IT IS ALSO OUR PLAN TO APPROACH THE MAJOR OIL COMPANIES AND ASK FOR THEIR COOPERATION IN STEMMING THE FLOW OF OIL FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO RHODESIA IN VIOLATION OF UN SANCTIONS. WE HAVE NOT DETERMINED WHAT SPECIFIC MEASURES MIGHT BE CONTEMPLATED IN THE UN OR SUGGESTED TO THE OIL COMPANIES. WE HAVE NOT YET APPROACHED THE COMPANIES AND WOULD ASK THAT THE DUTCH REFRAIN FROM DOING SO AS WELL. OF COURSE, IT IS ALSO IMPERATIVE THAT THERE BE NO LEAKAGE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF OIL-RELATED ACTION.

8. BELOW IS THE TEXT OF THE JOINT US-UK SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WHICH YOU AND YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUE SHOULD SUMMARIZE DURING THE APPOINTMENT. (THE ANNEXES MENTIONED IN THE DOCUMENT WILL BE PROVIDED TO THE GON AT A LATER DATE.)

BRITISH-US PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA.

1. ON 10 MARCH 1977 THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER ON A JOINT PEACE INITIATIVE TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. THE OBJECTIVE WAS AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

2. TO SUCCEED, ANY SETTLEMENT MUST COMMAND THE SUPPORT
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OF THOSE PEOPLE OF GOODWILL OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS WHO INTEND TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS CITIZENS OF ZIMBABWE. AMONGST THESE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOW MANY CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE

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OF DEEP DISTRUST. THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS LED TO THE LOSS OF MANY LIVES AND TO MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING. THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN GRAVELY WEAKENED. BUT THERE IS SURELY ONE OVERRIDING COMMON INTEREST, THAT PEACE SHOULD BE RESTORED AND THAT GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

3. IN APRIL THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY TOURED THE AREA AND MET ALL THE PARTIES TO THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FIVE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA. HE SET OUT THE ELEMENTS WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, COULD IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMPRISE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, AS FOLLOWS:

(A) A CONSTITUTION FOR INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR:

(1) A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WITH THE WIDEST POSSIBLE FRANCHISE:

(2) A BILL OF RIGHTS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE BILL WOULD BE QUOTE ENTRENCHED UNQUOTE SO THAT AMENDMENT OF IT WOULD BE MADE SUBJECT TO SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES AND IT WOULD GIVE THE RIGHT TO AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BELIEVED HIS RIGHTS WERE BEING INFRINGED TO SEEK REDRESS THROUGH THE COURTS:

(3) AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

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(B) A TRANSITION PERIOD COVERING THE SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE PRESENT REGIME, THE INSTALLATION OF A NEUTRAL CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE, IN

ADDITION TO ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY, WOULD BE THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PERIOD IT WAS ENVISAGED, WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY CONSTI-TUTED AND MANAGED DEVELOPMENT FUND (THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND).

4. FOLLOWING THAT TOUR, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE MET IN LONDON ON 6 MAY AND AGREED TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THESE

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PROPOSALS. TO THIS END THEY ESTABLISHED A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP MET ALL THE PARTIES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN LONDON AND IN AFRICA AND CARRIED OUT DETAILED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. IN PARALLEL, THE GOVERNMENTS OF INTERESTED COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED GENERALLY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT, HAVE NOW DECIDED TO PUT FIRM PROPOSALS FORWARD, COVERING THE THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN DOING SO THEY EMPHASIZE THAT THE THREE ASPECTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF A SETTLEMENT TO CONFIDENTIAL

BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE. THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY, HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS A BALANCED AND FAIR PACKAGE IN WHICH, THOUGH NO ONE MAY ACHIEVE ALL HIS AIMS, EVERYONE CAN SEE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CONSTITUTION

6. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC. PROVISION WOULD BE MADE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE, FOR A SINGLE-CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES. DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE SET OUT AT ANNEX A TO THIS DOCUMENT. THE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TAKEN AS EXCLUDING ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH DO NOT GO TO THE

HEART OF THE CONSTITUTION: EG PROVISION IS MADE FOR AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT WITH A VICE-PRESIDENT, BUT THERE MIGHT INSTEAD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT AND A PRIME MINISTER, IN WHICH CASE MANY OF THE POWERS WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO VEST IN THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE VESTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER OR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ADVICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

7. DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE FORBIDDEN BY A BILL OF RIGHTS PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3(A)(2)) THIS BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD BE JUSTICIABLE SO THAT AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUALS COULD ENFORCE THEIR RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO INTRODUCE MEASURES OF LAND REFORM WHILE GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO ESTABLISH

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AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION TO ENSURE AN EFFICIENT AND NON-POLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WOULD INHERIT THE ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND WOULD TAKE OVER PAST AND PRESENT PENSIONS OBLIGATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, THE RIGHTS OF THE PENSIONERS BEING GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD CONTAIN THE BASIC PROVISIONS REGULATING ZIMBABWE CITIZENSHIP AND THESE WOULD BE ENTRENCHED. THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE POSSESS-ION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND IF SO, WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE AN EXTENDED PERIOD DURING WHICH THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE, WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES.

9. THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON EXPRESSED THE UNANIMOUS HOPE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SOON BECOME A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING TO FACILITATE THIS.

THE TRANSITION

10. IT IS A BASIC PREMISE OF THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME WILL SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION MAY BE INSTALLED PEACEFULLY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE SUCH STEPS AS SEEM TO THEM APPROPRIATE TO SECURE THE TRANSFER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH (OR HIS SUCCESSOR) ON A DAY TO BE AGREED.

11. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE

SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE,

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AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL
RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES INCLUDING THE FORCES NOW OPERATING
AS THE FORCES OF THE REGIME AND THE LIBERATION ARMIES:

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF A
SPECIAL REPRESENTAIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH
THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND
CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL OF A UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE WHOSE ROLE
MAY INCLUDE: 1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE (SEE
BELOW); 2) SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER; 3) LIAISON WITH
THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES
OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL
BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO
DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE
BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND WITH ALL
THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE
RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.

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(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBLITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF
LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE
WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND
OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY
AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES:

(E) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF
AN ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION, WITH THE ROLE OF

CARRYING OUT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, THE DELIMITATION
OF CONSTITUENCIES AND THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL ELECTION
FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. ON
THE AGREED DAY ON WHICH POWER IS TRANSFERRED TO THE
TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION (PARA 10 ABOVE), A CEASE-
FIRE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WITHIN RHODESIA AND MEASURES
WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

12. AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT
ANNEX B.

THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND

13. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY
THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS, WILL HAVE AS A TARGET
A MINIMUM APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM

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RATHER LESS THAN ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS, TO WHICH GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS SECTORS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT,
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EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE, AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS, INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. THE OPERATIONS OF THE FUND WOULD HELP TO ENSURE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SETTLEMENT WILL NOT INHIBIT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE FOR LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THEREBY ALSO HELP TO REASSURE THOSE WHO MAY FEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ARE PREDICATED UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSED FUND IS AT ANNEX C.

CONCLUSION:

14. THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THE ABOVE PROPOSALS PROVIDE FOR ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE SECURITY, BUT NOT PRIVILEGE, UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHOUT DISCRIM-INATION, AND THE RIGHT TO BE GOVERNED BY A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER ARE CALCULATED TO ENSURE A QUICK, ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAVE AGREED TO USE THEIR JOINT INFLUENCE TO THE FULL TO PUT THE PROPOSALS

INTO EFFECT. BUT A LASTING SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE: IT IS THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WHO MUST ACHIEVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE. THESE PROPOSALS OFFER THEM A WAY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS URGE THEM TO SIEZE THE OPPORTUNITY. CHRISTOPHER

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